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'Chon Du Hwan for President' Drive Afoot As Indirect Poll Becomes Certain, Foes Purged

The South Korean junta of Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan is putting finishing touches to the "amendment of the Yusin Constitution." The new charter reportedly provides for presidential government with a chief executive chosen by an electoral college. Gen. Li Hui Song, martial law commander, told July 23 the press that the draft charter would be put to a national referendum under martial law. Radio Seoul broadcas August 2 that a high-ranking "government" official denied the possibility of all other methods of presidential election than an indirect election by an electoral college. Apparently the junta is determined to preserve the spirit and letter of the "Yusin Constitution" of the late strongman Pak Jung Hi. In a move intended to eliminate all potential critics within the mass media of such effort and improve his credibility as a man of moral integrity, the junta led by Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan banned 172 periodicals, including 15 weeklies, 104 monthlies and 16 quarterlies. The move came July 31 along with an order to carry out a sweeping purge of journalists by the thousands by August 10. The charges against Kim Dae Jung should be viewed in this context.

The public demand for ending the dictatorial charter grew so strong in the wake of the death of Pak Jung Hi that the military had to agree on its abolition. According to the November 2, 1979 New York Times, south Korean brass hats, in a secret meeting held at the Defense Ministry October 29 and 30, unofficially decided to scrap the "Yusin Constitution." A certain general was quoted as remarking that the old clothes were unfit for new leaders. The then "Emergency Measures Committee" in charge of day-to-day operations adopted a basic policy of ending the "Yusin Constitution."

Undemocratic Authors

The present "amendment" is the 8th after the first charter was adopted in 1948. Each time a "revision" was undertaken, it was described as based on democratic values. In proclaiming the "Yusin Constitution," Pak Jung Hi portrayed it as aimed at "Korean-style democracy." Yet, no democratic Constitution has ever been produced in south Korea. The answer is clear: all the successive authors of the "Constitutional amendments" were far from democratic. This time again, no man of democratic values is involved in the "amendment of the Yusin Constitution."

The first move to revise the "Yusin Constitution" was made by the law-making body. A meeting was held November 17 last between Kim Jong Pil, President of the ruling Democratic Republican Party, and Kim Yong Sam, President of the largest Opposition New Democratic Party. The two men agreed that the parliament should take the initiative in amending the present charter. A parliamentary panel was formed November 26, with an equal number of members from both the parties. A series of public hearings was conducted nationwide beginning January 16. Various opinion surveys were undertaken.

The Dong-A Ilbo, a leading evening paper of Seoul, carried findings of its own poll of members of the "Korean Public Law Society." According to its January 5 issue, 67.1 percent of those pollees favored presidential government, 55.7 percent called for a presidential election to be held before June, 1980, and 90.8 percent preferred a direct election to an indirect election. Public hearings showed similar results. Five hearings were held with 60 percent of the speakers advocating presidential government. A total of 40 experts testified, with 37 calling for a direct election. Draft charters prepared by political parties all call for presidential government and a direct election. This can be called the shared view of the public.

Challenge to Democratic Hopes

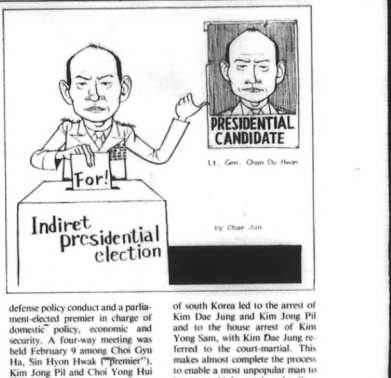
Such public aspirations for democratic institutions faced serious challenges from the beginning. The Choi Gyu Ha regime stood in the way, despite the fact that it is primarily charged with undertaking a "Constitutional revision," holding elections and transferring power to a newly-elected democratic government. For it is a caretaker government. Obvious was the intension of the military-dominated "caretaker government" to have its way in the "amendment". After delaying the so-called "amendment", the junta January 19 made clear through its spokesman that the "government" would make the initiative with regard to "a Constitutional revision." "A Constitutional amendment task force" was created and a "presidential advisory body" set up March 13. An official in charge of the proposed "revision" told a parliamentary panel that the "government" would respect the draft by the law-making body but would make any necessary change in it.

The Dong-A Ilbo reported January 11 that a study was under way in some ruling quarters of "dual government" with a chief executive handling diplomatic and defense policy conduct and a parliament-elected premier in charge of domestic policy, economic and security. A four-way meeting was held February 9 among Choi Gyu Ha, Sin Hyon Hwak ("premier"), Kim Jong Pil and Choi Yong Hui (leader of the "Yujonghwe", a group of "President"-picked members of the "National Assembly") where Choi Gyu Ha unveiled a plan to "share some of presidential powers with a premier" and rejected a proposal to put a parliament-made draft Constitution to a plebiscite without any change being made. He, speaking at the first meeting of the "presidential advisory body", declared, "A new Constitution should provide for steps to prevent a presidential election from becoming overheated." His message is that an indirect election should be held to choose a president.

Neutralization of Three Kims

Then came the neutralization of three Kims (Kim Dae Jung, Kim Yong Sam, and Kim Jong Pil) most favored potential "presidential candidates." The May 17 expansion of the martial law to cover the whole of south Korea led to the arrest of Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil and to the house arrest of Kim Yong Sam, with Kim Dae Jung referred to the court-martial. This makes almost complete the process to enable a most unpopular man to become a chief executive—Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan for "President."

With the "National Assembly" closed, the sole organ engaged in the "Constitutional amendment" is the "presidential advisory body." This body, in the words of an editorial of the Choson Ilbo dated March 15, comprises " many old-regime people and administration officials." It is a foregone conclusion that the "amended Constitution" provides for presidential government and an electoral college. Although a semblance of democracy is needed, namely, a national referendum, martial law governs all the parts of south Korea when the proposed prebiscite would be conducted. In short, the referendum would prove far from democratic because no political activity is permitted under martial law. What is bound to emerge from the plebiscite is a "second Yusin Constitution" with Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan becoming the sole candidate for " the President."



U.S., Japan Solons Urge Kim's Release

(See related articles on pages 4,5,6 and 8)

A growing number of American and Japanese lawmakers are expressing critical criticisms of the move of the Chon Du Hwan junta to try Kim Dae Jung at a military tribunal as it has touched off international ecitses.

Thirty-two American lawmakers including Rep. Stephen Solarz sent a joint message to Choi Gyu Ha of south Korea June 23, urging the installation of a democratic government, the New Korea Times published in Toronto reported July 12. The paper quoted the letter as pointing out that they were gravely alarmed at developments obstructing a speedy transition to democratic government. The letter took issue with the efforts of the junta to perpetuate itself in power.

According to the August 2 evening issue of the Yomiuri Shimbun, a leading daily in Tokyo, 21 American Congressmen including Rep. Don Edwards sent August 1 a letter to President Carter demanding the cancellation of $450 million of credits by the U.S. Eximbank to Seoul. The Congressmen argued that the suspension of the Eximbank credits would become a good manifestation of American will and stressed that it would never invite instability in the security issues.

Expressing concern that Kim will likely be sentenced to death, former Japanese Justice Minister Tanaka Isaji proposed the formation of a joint group by the Japanese and U.S. governments to help the dissident leader.

He was Minister of Justice when Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel to Seoul in August, 1973. He said:

"Representatives of the group should visit Seoul and make a request with the south Korean authorities. I think that will be the only way to have Mr. Kim spared."

This remark was reported by The Japan Times and the Mainichi Daily News August 2.

The former Justice Minister added that the Japanese Government must do its best to save Kim as it cannot remain unconcerned about his fate because he was kidnapped from Tokyo by south Korean intelligence agents in violation of Japan's sovereignty.

Another Diet member Utsunomiya Tokuma rejected the allegations that Kim was an ardent Communist. He showed two letters from him as evidence to support his argument.

Den Hideo, Member of the Upper House, said that the Chon Du Hwan junta was completely ignoring democracy and the current international situation by deciding to try Kim.

Liberal-Democratic Members of the Lower House of the Diet Kimura Toshio, former Foreign Minister, Shionoya Kazuo and Ishii Hajime August 1 met with Foreign Minister Ito at the Foreign Ministry and called upon him to take relevant steps to save Kim Dae Jung. The three belong to the Asian-African Affairs Study Group of the ruling party.

Kuruyanagi Akira, Director of International Affairs of the Clean Government Party affiliated with a powerful religious group called Soka Gakkai, declared that the Japanese Government must assume grave responsibility for the present conditions of Kim Dae Jung. He denounced the politically-inspired plot to eliminate Kim and suppress the democratic movement in south Korea.

In the name of his party, Kuroyanagi, member of the parliament, strongly demanded the release of Kim Dae Jung and urged the Japanese Government to seek for specific steps for his release.

Main streets of Yurakucho and Sukiyabashi in downtown Tokyo August 2 became a scene of emotional appeals by Japan Socialist Party Chairman Asukata Ichio and other leading men of culture to passers-by to join the campaign to save the south Korean democratic leader. He portrayed the trial of Kim as an attempt to root out all the democratic forces and establish a fascist ruling system. He urged the Japanese Government to adopt necessary steps to win his freedom.

A Novel Peace-Prize winner and former Irish Foreign Minister Sean MacBride, speaking before the 1980 World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in Tokyo August 2, denounced the trial of Kim Dae Jung and the purge of several hundred journalists by the martial law command. He said that he could not stand idle as if it were none of his own business. He recalled that he was once a journalist.

Americans for Democratic Action, a powerful lobbyist group within the Democratic Party, held a national meeting at Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. June 12-15 and decided to call upon the next Democratic Presidential candidate to make a change in Korea policy as a top priority issue. The resolution adopted by the Americans included four points: (1) lifting of martial law; (2) resignation of

(Continued on page 5)

DPRK, Lesotho Set Up Diplomatic Ties

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Kingdom of Lesotho agreed on July 19, 1980 to establish diplomatic relations on the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, cooperation and non-interference.

This brings to 102 the total number of countries with which the DPRK established diplomatic relations.

A joint communique by the two governments was signed and made public in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique.

Presidential Audiences

President Kim Il Sung received on July 26 Carlos Perez Herrera, Chairman of the Panama-Korea Association of Friendship and Culture, who is advisor to the President of the Republic of Panama for Foreign Affairs, and his wife, and on July 27 the delegation of "Study Group for the Extension of Economic, Cultural and Friendly Relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" of the French National Assembly.

President Kim Il Sung had talks with these guests.

Panamanian guests stayed in the DPRK from July 15 to 29.

The French delegation visited various places in Pyongyang and local areas including Mangyongdae, the Korean Film Studio, the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital and the Fabrics & Victuals Complex during its stay in the DPRK from July 22 to 29.

Ways to Industrialize, Modernize N. Hamgyong Prov.

There is a need to supply improved furniture and more TV sets, refrigerators and washing machines to the people in the province, stressed President Kim Il Sung during his on-the-spot guidance to Chongjin Municipality and North Hamgyong Province from July 19 to 29.

He also stressed that more sufficient conditions for culture and rest and more commodious modern dwelling houses should be built in cities.

The Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works and the Songjin Steel Works were told to increase production capacity. He also stressed sufficient supply of iron ores should be guaranteed.

Coal is a key fuel and raw material in the DPRK. The province also has rich coal deposits.

Regarding agriculture, its most important task was described as successful irrigation, and afforestation and water conservancy projects.

North Hamgyong Province was once the most underdeveloped, mountainous province with a long coast line facing the East Sea. It is the northernmost area of the DPRK bordering on both China and the Soviet Union divided by the Amrok and Tuman rivers.

During his stay in Chongjin Municipality and North Hamgyong Province, the President visited the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works and the new presidential quarters that had taken shape in Namchongjin, and other units. A consultative conference of economic functionaries in Chongjin and North Hamgyong Province was held and problems about economy were discussed. Economic tasks were put forward at the conference.

President Kim Il Sung highly appreciated the lot of work done by the workers of Chongjin and North Hamgyong Province. Last year the President visited there from June 5 to 20, and raised economic tasks.

He put forward tasks for completing in a short time the construction of the Aoji Chemical Plant and the Hoeryong Kraft Paper Mill, normalizing production on a high level at the Kilju Pulp Mill, and gave teachings for further lifting cement output and producing large quantities of cement of high mark in particular at the Komusan Cement Factory. He also gave teachings on better city management. (See in detail the July 11, 1979 issue of The People's Korea)

Follow highlights of tasks of Chongjin Municipality and North Hamgyong Province:

INDUSTRY

—To normalize production on a high level at the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works and the Songjin Steel Works

● To sufficiently supply ores needed by these steel works

—To increase coal production

● Increasing coal production is an important point in normalizing production at the industrial establishments and fulfilling the Second Seven-Year Plan (1978-1984) ahead of schedule.

—To normalize production at the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill, the Hoeryong Kraft Paper Mill, the Kilju Pulp Mill and at the Kyongsong and Chuul porcelain factories

AGRICULTURE

—To successfully carry out irrigation projects and afforestation and water conservancy

● Completion of the irrigation project will greatly help workers to increase agricultural products.

—To build more reservoirs

—To continuously make revolution in using underground water effectively

—To conduct extensively rezoning to further increase the production of the work done by machines

—To continuously wage the movement for obtaining new land in all cities and counties of the province

—To expand the area under oil-bearing crops

—To distribute crops on the principle of right crop on right soil to increase per hectare yield

—To dam up rivers

—To build more power stations to utilize water and produce electricity

CITY MANAGEMENT

—To construct more grand cities

● **To successfully conduct the work of greening the new streets**

—To improve quality of furniture

—To increase production of TV sets, refrigerators and washing machines

—To create more sufficient conditions for culture and rest in cities

—To build more commodious modern dwelling houses

—To build better Chongjin, Kim Chaek, Rajin and other cities

Revved Up Diplomatic Conduct of DPRK

The DPRK has developed vigorous diplomatic activities in the past several months especially since it held a joint meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Central People's Committee of the DPRK on June 11 this year, at which the DPRK called on the non-aligned countries to be united more firmly.

In June and July alone, DPRK party and governmental delegations, including special envoys of President Kim Il Sung, visited 23 countries.

Follows a roundup of diplomatic activities of the DPRK from March to July this year:

SPECIAL ENVOYS

Ho Dam, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of the DPRK, as a spe-cial envoy of President Kim Il Sung, visited Tanzania from July 14 to 18, Mozambique from July 18 to 21, Zimbabwe from July 21 to 24 and Zambia from July 25 to 28.

Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere on July 15 met the special envoy. He fully supported the policy put forward by President Kim Il Sung for the strengthening and development of the non-aligned movement.

In Mozambique, the special envoy called on Samora Moises Machel, President of that country, on July 18 and had a talk with him. The President stated: For the settlement of the question of Korean reunification, the U.S. troops occupying south Korea must be withdrawn and the fascist rule terminated and democracy realised in south Korea.

During his stay in Zimbabwe, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Ho Dam met Robert G. Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe on July 23.

Pointing out that the only legitimate sate of the Korean people is the DPRK, the Zimbabwean Prime Minister stated that his government would never recognize south Korea and would have no relations with it under any circumstances.

He stressed that Zimbabwe would make efforts for the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned movement.

Zimbabwean President Canaan Banana on July 21 arranged a banquet for the special envoy.

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Ho Dam flew into Zambia next. On July 25, he had talks with R.C. Kamanga, Member of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia and Chairman of the Political and Foreign Affairs Committee of the Party, and on the same day he also met with the Zambian Prime Minister.

At a talk held between the special envoy and the General Secretary of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, the General Secretary said that the party and government and people of Zambia fully supported all policies put forward by President Kim Il Sung to build and reunify the country, and expressed firm solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for national reunification.

Another special envoy of President Kim Il Sung, Li Chang Son, Minister of Culture and Art of the DPRK, visited Guinea from July 15 to 19 and Togo from July 24 to 29, and after that he went to Benin on July 29.

The Togolese Permanent Director said at a talk with Li Chang Son that President Kim Il Sung had put forward a wise policy for the strengthening and development of the non-aligned movement on the basis of a scientific analysis of the present international situation and that the party and government of Togo fully supported the policy advanced by the DPRK President.

The special envoy met and had talks with leaders in each of the countries he visited.

PARTY DELEGATIONS

Eight delegations of the Workers' Party of Korea visited more than 13 countries.

In March, a delegation of the WPK headed by Ri Ju Chu, Member of the Political Committee of the CC of the WPK and Secretary of the CPC of the DPRK, visited Hungary.

A delegation headed by Chong Jun Gi, Alternate Member of the Political Committee of the CC of the WPK, and Vice-Premier of the Administration Council, went to Madagascar and a delegation led by Yang Hyong Sop, Member of the CC of the WPK, visited Mexico and Nicaragua in May. A friendship visiting group of the WPK headed by Hong Song Ryong also visited China in the same month.

In June, a delegation headed by Kim Hyong Jong visited the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and a delegation headed by Pae Ewi Gwan, Member of the Political Committee of the CC of the WPK visited the GDR.

Rim Chun Chu went to Iraq as a head of a party and government delegation, and a delegation headed by Hwang Jang Yop, Member of the CC of the WPK and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the SPA visited India in July.

GOVERNMENT DELEGATIONS

The DPRK Government also actively sent its delegations to many countries in this period.

In March a government delegations, including a delegation headed by Kong Jin Tae, Vice-Premier of the DPRK, visited Mali and Romania.

In May a government delegation headed by Kim Il Dae, Chairman of the Education Commission, toured Mali, Togo, Benin, Angola and Sao Tome and Principe.

In June, Vice-President Pak Sung Chul and his entourage visited Madagascar.

In July a delegation of SPA of the DPRK left Pyongyang for visits to Hungary, the USSR, and Poland and another delegation headed by Vice-Premier Kim Gyong Ryon went to Nicaragua.

Ghanaian Korea Reunion Support Com. Formed

The Ghanaian Committee of Solidarity with the Korean People for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea was formed on July 14 in Ghana.

Owusu Ansa was elected Chairman and K. Rath Secretary General for the new committee.

An inaugural meeting was held on July 14 in Accra.

It was attended by the Chairman of the East Provincial Committee of the People's National Party of Ghana and many representatives of various organisations. The ambassador and officials of the DPRK embassy in Ghana were invited.

The Chairman of the East Provincial Committe of the People's National Party of Ghana and the DPRK ambassador spoke on the occasion.

A letter to President Kim Il Sung was adopted.

In the meeting hall immortal classic works of the DPRK President, Korean books and photographs of the DPRK were displayed.

Koreans from US Visit Pyongyang

The Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland on the evening of July 30 arranged a banquet in honour of the home-visiting group of compatriots in American region at the People's Palace of Culture.

Invited to the banquet were the members of the home-visiting group of compatriots in American region headed by Dr. Kim Gwang Hun, Professor at the Coppin State College, Maryland, the United States.

Director Ho Jong Suk and Vice-Director Chang Hak Myong of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland, Vice-Director Kim In Son of the General Bureau of Overseas Compatriots Affairs, Vice-Chairman Wang Gyong Hak of the Pyongyang Municipal Administrative Committee, and other personages concerned were present.

Chang Hak Myong and Kim Gwang Hun made speeches at the banquet. (KCNA)

DPRK Wins Special Praises at Int'l Exhibition in Malaysia

The DPRK was awarded a letter of special class commendation at the "1980's International Building and Modern Life Exhibition," an international commodity fair, held from May 23 to July 4 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Individual special prizes were also awarded to the Kusong No. 3 lathe, a rice-transplanting machine, a set of tools, pottery and Koryo insam (ginseng).

The exhibition was participated in by over 40 trading firms and companies of 13 countries.

On display there were more than, 3,500 articles of over 900 kinds, such as modern machine tools, rice-transplanting machines and other machines, mining, metal, chemical, building-materials and light industrial products and foodstuffs.

The exhibition was visited by the General Secretary of the National Front of Malaysia, the Minister of Agriculture, a Vice-Minister of Commerce and Industry, the General Secretary of the Ministry of Culture and other personnel of political, public and business circles, the Malaysian people and foreigners from South East Asian countries and regions.

In 1978, the DPRK also won 18 gold medals at international commodities exhibitions held in various countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. Among them three were awarded to the DPRK exhibition halls.

The DPRK's exports has been rapidly developed as it showed 1.3-fold increase over 1978 last year. In the first half of last year the volume of freight handled at Korean trading ports increased more 3.7 times as against the corresponding period of 1970.

Look at North Hamgyong Industry

PHOTO:
Clockwise from the top left

- The Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works located in Chongjin city, N. Hamgyong Prov., is assembling electronic systems.
- The Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works is assembling hydraulic tanks for their completion by October.
- The Musan Mine of North Hamgyong Province is a foremost producer of a high-quality iron ores. Its capacity is expected to be expanded to 10 million tons during the second seven-year plan period (1978-1984). It supplies iron ores to the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Works. Inset shows the blast to get more iron ores. Photo is from 1978 files.
- The October 5 Electric Appliances Factory and other plants are operating at full capacity to meet the growing demand for high-quality refrigerators.
- Television broadcasts are currently monitored throughout the DPRK in technicolor and black-and-white. The Taedong-gang TV Plant and local plants mass-produce TV sets. Photo shows the assembly line of the Taedong-gang Plant.

Economic Chiefs of 4 Newspapers:

Panel Discussion on S. Korean Economy

The following are highlighs of a round-table discussion entitled "Economic Barometer of S. Korea", which was run in the June issue of the south Korean monthly magazine "Sin Dong-A." The round-table panel discussion held on April 25 was participated in by the economic section chiefs of the four major dailies: Pae Byon Gol, The Maeil Sinmun; Song Gwang Sik, The Kyonghyang Sinmun; Li Song Gyun, The Hanguk Ilbo; and Kim Tae Song (Moderator), The Dong-A Ilbo.

At the discussion, various controversial issues were brought up in connection with economic failures. The discussions focused on the present economic bankruptcy, and the panelists questioned whether Chon Du Hwan and his company who are making desperate efforts to maintain the "Pak system" without Pak, can tide over the economic crisis, an outcome of the late strongman's 18-year-long "yusin" rule.

A Horse-Drawn Cart Facing A Rigorous Winter

Kim (Moderator): Of late, such words as "misty political situation" are on the lips of politicians, while ominous clouds are on the horizon of our economy. Now, we would like to analyze uncertain elements in our economy and proceed to project its future development. In spite of the announcement made by the government that recently our economy is resuming its upward trend, and riftot businessmen and industrialists do not agree with the government. Though it is spring now, no special improvements have been seen in the economic situation since last winter. We are very much concerned what the present economic state is and when the economic health will be recovered.

Especially, as many changes have been effected in all segments of society, our economy must necessarily undergo considerable changes. First of all, let's start discussing questions related to business activity.

Song: The reason why the government expects activity to pick up progressively though certain apprehensions is: The government estimated that business recovery was forging ahead, analysing economic indicator during the several months after it had raised interest rates, exchange rate and price trends from January to February. In spite of the government's optimistic analysis, it seems businessmen and industrialists are aware of some errors in the government's analysis itself. Recently, vice Premier Li Han Rim and Mr. Kim U Jung held a discussion on business outlook. At the meeting, vice premier Li predicted that business was bound to surge upward in the second half of this year, by referring to the export index. In short, his theory is that as the growth rate of exports has already recorded a very high level, or about 20 percent above a year-ago level, business activity will be stepped up briskly. He emphasized that the dominant factor for the upsurge of economic activity in recent months clearly has been active export. In addition, in order to illustrate this theory, vice-premier Li pointed out an increase in housing and business building starts. On the contrary, Mr. Kim U Jung, referring to the possibility of a reviving economy, said that businessmen and industrialists took a dim view of the economy and that many enterprises faced fund shortages because of the pinch on credit carried out by the government. He also said: Before the October 26 assassination incident of President Pak Jung Hi, enterprises could manage to make representations to the Council for Expansion of Export or other economic conferences held in Chongwadae (the Blue House) asking for fund supply. But at present, it became difficult for enterprises to raise funds because they have no longer personal connections with the regime; they have began to eat into stockpiles and are making efforts to raise export financing funds by themselves. As the 29 percent increase in export has not been attained on a paying basis, it would be a mistake to draw an optimistic conclusion that business recovery is forging ahead.

In view of these two divergent opinions, it is natural that the there is confusion as to the idea that business activity is steadily recovering. I think I can compare the present economic situation to the title of a novel "A Horse-Drawn Cart Facing A Rigorous Winter", because this title puts in a nutshell the present economic condition.

Moderator: As Mr. Song said, enterprises take a pessimistic view of business activity. As a matter of fact, many enterprises share the same view. It is a superficial view that the government's tight-money policy has attained a considerable success and that export is looking up. Success in credit restrictions means an actual decline of capital investment. The decline of capital investment which is not welcomed by enterprises, means a warning that the present increase in export will slow down in six months or one year. So, we can not but feel that the policy-makers may be committing some mistakes.

Imports and Crude Oil and Grain

Year	Total	Crude Oil Amount	Crude Oil Composition Ratio (%)	Grain Amount	Grain Composition Ratio (%)
1974	6,852	968	14.1	630	9.2
1975	7,274	1,271	17.5	705	9.7
1976	8,774	1,607	18.3	497	5.7
1977	10,811	1,931	17.9	539	5.0
1978	14,972	2,190	14.6	577	3.9
1979	20,339	3,104	15.3	962	4.7

(From the January 23 issue of the Korea Herald)

Economic Failure

Pae: The view that business activity is recovering should be regarded as wishful thinking. The change in the international economic circumstances is the most powerful factor which exerts a influence upon the economy of our country. But no good sign can be found here. We can not get any impression that business activity is picking up, and so we are only impatient. As Mr. Kim pointed out, enterprises are slowing down production, suspending investments in new factories because they remain passive due to political uncertainty. Companies have acted that way only because they do not want to minimize their risk in face of a foreseeable economic crisis. As a result, business is generally inactive due to their self-restraint on output.

Exports which were maintained on a rather high level early this year, fell sharply in April. The amount of letters of credit received is no longer a reliable export indicator. Nevertheless, as by April 20 it was only up 7 percent over the comparable period of last year.

Next, there are some problems of production suspension in heavy industry. In addition, the problems of fund shortage and technical backwardness have not yet been solved. As a transitional phenomenon, enterprises have lost their sense of direction and are moving aimlessly.

Whatever the case may be, it is very important that the optimistic business outlook held by the government is diametrically opposed to the view held by the industrialists. The present situation is such that as a result, corporations of our country are resistless and are unable to take any positive measures.

Differences between Gov. and Business

Li: In fact, the view taken by the government on business activity runs counter to that of business enterprises. The government holds that the economy is reviving little by little, as compared with the beginning of this year, while business seemed to take the view that business is slower now than last year. Leading economic indicators rose to 1.8 when the economic activity of this country was overheated last year. While the index number of 1.8 indicates an overheated economic activity, if my memory serves me right, the leading indicators fell to 0.5 at the beginning of this year. Noting the rise of the indicator to 0.7, the government says that business activity is being stepped up briskly. On the contrary, comparing with last year's 0.7, businessmen take the view that business activity is falling off.

Moreover, the government can not affort to overlook the economic conditions of the U.S. and Japan which have an important economic effect on our country. Of late, President Carter announced price-restraint policy and a decision to lower the interest rate. The United States takes the same view as our country that price restraint leads to slow-down in business activity, and taken a strict stand on taxation. For example, in the case of petroleum, the import surcharge on oil has been largely increased. In case of Japan, exports are continuously expanding, while still suffering from the oil problem as a factor of economic instability and also from a heavy burden of energy cost. Electricity charges were raised in the beginning of this year. As export is a dominant factor for our economic health, our economy is naturally affected deeply by the economic conditions of the U.S. and Japan. Thus, it is not far-fetched to believe that the U.S. and Japan will continue to restrict imports for the time being which added to the companies' refusal to expand business activity. The government thinking is: It is inevitable to curb exports in the process of reorganization; the question of price stabilization should be settled first; and there is no stopping the business stagnation because of sharp reductions in exchange rates, credit rates, and oil prices. Government policy and external circumstances suggest that it is unlikely that business activity is to pick up progressively sometime this year.

Moderstor: A few days ago, I heard a story from a shoeblack while having my shoes polished. He said that recently he shines up shoes of forty customers a day, while in the past he had over 100 customers. The proprietor of a fried chicken's shop on the outskirts of the capital said that there is a day when the shop has no customer. Well, it is widely said that these changes have come out since the beginning of this year when a new oil shock struck, but since one or two months ago. Anyway, the present situation is worse than that of the last winter. Other factors than economic ones affect economic activity. For example, labor-management disputes which have been frequently occurred since last year, contributed to the slow-down in business activity.

Deeply-Felt Recession

Pae: There are some sectors which are directly affected by domestic consumption or domestic trend of consumption. In short, they take a role of business barometer. The building sector is the most typical case in point. Some other sectors spend won exchanged from dollars sent by workers in foreign countries, especially in the Middle Eastern countries. There is another sector which use more capital outside the normal economic zone. Some call it an underground economic zone. This sector closely affects market demand for furniture and refrigerators. When this demand rapidly increases, generally it can be said that business activity picks up briskly.

As for the building sector, there are only few construction sites work started, while there are many places where it is permitted to build buildings. For example, this year, when the government instructs construction companies which construct large-scale apartment houses to hand in planning reports, at only ten percent of sites had work started on construction. It is also true of small-scale housing construction Therefore, the investment plans of enterprises were actually scaled down, and demand continuously weaken in this sector. A fact is that real income can not be gained in a section where it is supposed to be gained.

Balance of Payments

(unit: $100 million)

	1979	1980	1981
Trade Balance	-43	-55	-45
Exports	147	170	210
Imports	190	225	255
Invisible Trade Balance	4	8	10
Current Account Balance	-39	-47	-35
Long-term Capital	24	25	25
Short-term Capital	8	10	5
Foreign Exchange Holdings	57	62	67

(From the February 14 issue of the Korea Herald)

Meanwhile, it is difficult to expect that foreign investors will create demand because of increase in labor cost due to growing inflation. I am led to a conclusion that in view of the present economic situation, enterprises withhold further capital investment until a clear-cut political schedule is mapped out in next year.

At present, major factors in the business slow-down are international high interest rates and high oil prices. Domestic political conditions can also not be ignored, too. Declining exports to the United States and Japan have assumed very serious dimensions because most fields of our country's economy depend on the two countries. The U.S. and Japan would not open their markets. It became all the more difficult for our country to draw credits. Until these problem are settled, it is not easy for our country which has weak independent capability to galvanize its economy, however firm the intention to boost the economy may be.

In the past, companies are not used to this kind of matter because the government offered to give an emergency investment and built a breakwater for them when companies faced bankruptcy. However, even the government flatly refuses to give this support. In addition, due to the upsurge of demand of consumers, companies have lost their desperate resolve to avoid the risk of recession. So, it is ridiculous and naive to believe that the economy has been reviving right now.

Credit Squeeze Brought Commodity Shortage

Li: I heard from a president of a city bank that by this year most companies which once asked the bank to supply funds, had made investment in productive equipments to expand the supply ability but this year they used these funds not for the expansion of facilities but as the operating funds. The bank told that companies should expand their facilities and asked how they could manage to overcome the shortage of commodities expected next year as an active economic comeback would come. However, the companies said that in order to overcome the urgent difficulty of operation, the problem of expansion of facilities should not be considered now. They insisted that they must maintain this slender existence this year, while the government insisted that by controlling the upsurge in economic activity, it will make a fresh start with broad-minded attitude to review controversial points of the economy from next year.

In my view, the positions taken by the government and companies seem to be outwardly just the same, but in actuality they are contrary to each other. If the government considered this year a period of preparing for a future economic high

(Continued on page 5)

Prof. Channing Liem Stresses:

Kim Dae Jung Is Neither Communist Nor Pinko

Channing Liem, senior Chairman of Hanminryon (the Union of Overseas Koreans for Democracy and Unification), a former south Korean ambassador to the UN, and now a retired university professor in New York, issued a lengthy rebuttal of the allegations by the martial law command that Kim Dae Jung is a "Communist" or a "pinko". He also pictured himself as a God-fearing Christian and a man of democratic values. Here is a gist of his report whose date is not known:

In order to seize dictatorial powers in Korea, Chon Du Hwan brutally oppresses and slaughters those who eagerly aspire after democracy. He makes frantic efforts to eliminate the democratic dissidents who enjoy popular support. The Kwangju incident is a case in point. The arrest and trial of Kim Dae Jung on charges of violations of the Anti-Communist Law and of high treason and the attempt to deprive him of all his public life may be viewed as part of such machinations.

How can I keep silence while seeing such slaughter and treachery? As for the allegations by the Chon Du Hwan junta patterned after McCarthyism 30 years ago that Kim Dae Jung is a pinko because he came into contact with "north Korean elements" in the U.S. (especially referring to me), he is neither a Communist nor a pinko, as far as I know. Let me explain my relationships with him in the hope that it will help save him and overthrow the dictatorship.

Some compatriots here call me "a Communist," "a pro-north Korean element" and "a proponent of the theory that unification is the first thing and democracy next." A hard fact of life, however, is that I was born as son of a Christian family and inspired with Christian democracy. Coming to the U.S., I studied hard its democratic Constitution and taught it for some 30 years. My stay here awakened me to the fact that a given ideology has both merits and demerits and may change its form in accordance with times and circumstances. So, I am aware that even democracy can be reduced to a sort of riotous situation. It must be stressed that nobody has so far tried to convert me to Communism or atheism and that I have never thought of becoming so. I declare myself to be a diehard democrat and Christian.

Until the mid-60's, I had been convinced that the north and the south could achieve their peaceful reintegration through mutual compromise after the two built their respective democratic and economic potential.

Yet my thinking changed. When I saw both the U.S. and Japan positively supported the repressive and corrupt regime of Park Chung Hee, I realized it was the foreign forces that were the chief obstacles to the democracy and unification of my homeland. I witnessed Washington and Seoul scheme the division of my country and declare anti-Communism a avowed state policy of the ROK. I witnessed American association with the dictatorial regime of Park. It dawned that it was my sacred duty to devote all my life to the cause of democracy and unification and that my people would eventually realize that anti-Communism would cause the ruin of the country and make them slaves.

This is the reason why I can ignore however severe criticism from fellow countrymen as a temporary outcry. Nevertheless, I cannot remain silent about the schemes of the Chon Du Hwan junta. The junta describes false reports by certain compatriots as "grounded" and brands me as "a pro-north Korean element" or "a Communist." I cannot permit the junta to eliminate Kim Dae Jung on the grounds that he came into contact with me and consequently is a pinko.

Here is a brief account of the relations linking Kim and me.

In the spring of 1972, I received an unexpected phone call from Washington. It was from Kim who was then touring this country as an Opposition lawmaker. Because of the brevity of his American trip, I met him in New York. Although he saw me when I visited Seoul at the invitation of the John Chang Myon government in 1960, the 1972 encounter was our first meeting. We talked a few hours over lunch and he gave me a detailed report on the domestic conditions of Korea. I had no recollection of most of his report except one thing: He was determined to run again for the presidency.

In the summer of the same year, one of my friends told me a strange story on his return from Seoul. He quoted politicians in Korea as saying that no presidential election would be held there in the future. As it turned out, in October of the same year, Park Chung Hee showed the true colors of his quasi-democratic regime as a dictatorial one. It was when Kim Dae Jung was on his way to Japan and decided not to return to Korea. He flew to the U.S. in November. After arriving in the U.S., he visited my home several times. He confided his resolve to me that he would not try to establish a government in exile in direct confrontation with the Park government, though rumors contrary to it

Prof. Channing Liem

were circulated among compatriots here. His preoccupation, he said, was with forming a legal organization committed to democracy in his home country in cooperation with overseas democratic dissidents. He portrayed himself as dedicated to the promotion of democracy and unification. He reminded me of the need to free the compatriots resident in Japan of leftist elements or influence. In short, he had no intention to either use violence in order to overthrow the Park regime or carry out the revolution, and he was willing to oppose any leftist influence within the overseas democratic dissident movement because of his strong anti-Communist stance.

Since then to mid-January, 1973, he and I attended a series of meetings of compatriots here and held consultations together with the American officials at least four or five times. Each time, he outlined his personality as a conservatist.

In mid-January, 1973, he travelled to Tokyo on one occasion to prepare a possible return home. He came back here in March. During a half year since, he and I, supported by other compatriots, held numerous talks and reached agreement to establish Hanminrong or known as the Congress for the Restoration of Democracy and the Unification of the Nation.

Japanese Press Comments

Follows a gist of the editorial carried in the August 1 issue of the Asahi Shimbun headlined "Kim Dae Jung's Fate":

The South Korean Martial Law Command has indicted Kim Dae Jung on a number of charges, including fomenting rebellion and conspiring to overthrow the Government.

Few politicians can have faced death so frequently as Kim. He was threatened by terrorists during the presidential election in 1971 and was adbucted from Tokyo in 1973. Each time he escaped death by a hairbreadth. And now he has been charged with offenses which are punishable by death and is about to stand trial in a military court.

We are greatly concerned about Kim's fate, as are many people in the United States and Western Europe. The South Korean Government and military leaders should be aware of this.

These considerations in no way lessen our concern. Kim's abduction from Tokyo in August, 1973, involved the violation of the civil rights of an individual and the violation of the sovereignty of another nation. The suspicions in this case were not cleared up because of the political settlement reached between the Japanese and ROK governments. The problems Kim faces today stem from this settlement, so he cannot be regarded merely as a politician of another country.

The present situation in South Korea hardly warrants optimism. It seems as if the roots of democracy are being chopped away. As a result of the riots in Pusan and Masan, while Park was alive, the ROK Government appeared to have realized that living standards would have to be raised and a more open system of government would have to be adopted. But now, the dissidents, of whom Kim is one, have been accused of fomenting rebellion and conspiring to overthrow the Government in connection with the Kwangju incident. The authorities appear to be bent on preventing criticism of the establishment by politicians and restraining their sympathizers.

According to reports from Seoul, a purge of the press is being made. A little while ago the bureaucracy was purged.

It is not enough for the Japanese Government to make a perfunctory announcement that it has an interest in Kim's fate. It should reopen the investigation of Kim's abduction and review the basis of Japan-ROK relations.

Ex-"presidential" candidate Kim Dae Jung who was let out of a Seoul prison on December 27, 1978, stood surrounded by his supporters.

Japan Scholars Statement on S. Korean Situation

Follows a full text of the statement of the present situation of south Korea adopted by the first meeting in 1980 of the Board of Permanent Executive Directors of the Japan Scientists Association, July 6, 1980:

The Japan Scientists Association had been deeply concerned about and observing South Korean situation after the military rulers expanded martial law to cover the entire country on May 17. Just having heard that the martial law command sent Mr. Kim Dae Jung and other 35 persons who were accused of plotting against the Seoul government to the military court, we think that, in the name of humanism and democracy, we should not pass over this event in silence.

Now, in south Korea, human rights, democracy and freedom of learning, thought, belief and the press are violated under martial law.

Hoping that democratization of South Korea will be realized as soon as possible, we demand that the South Korean government should immediately put an end to the martial law and release the arrested persons including Kim Dae Jung from prison.

We request the Japanese government to stop support for the military rulers and to ensure that the position of Kim Dae Jung be recovered as it was before he was kidnapped from Tokyo to Seoul in violation of the sovereignty of Japan.

We request the U.S. government to stop giving assistance to South Korean military rulers who infringe democray and freedom and to withdraw the U.S. troops from South Korea.

Carefully watching the present situation of Japan where a tendency towards military big power, including the alteration of the present Constitution of Japan based on the principles of peace, democracy and human rights, is being strengthened, we decide afresh to protect peace and democracy in cooperation with broad strata in Japan.

(Continued from page 4)

growth in capital investment and tax system, it should start reorganizing the industrial structure by rationalizing management and streamlining enterprises when the economy slides deeper into recession. In addition, the government follows tight money policy recklessly when it should take some measures to minimize a possible shortage of necessities anticipated to come together with the comeback of economic activity directly connected with the people's living.

Pae: From rumors circulated in the stock market, I clearly understand that no progress has been made in the improvement of the business climate. Customers of the stock market encourage rumors that: The color TV sets will be put on the market; the work for drilling for oil at the continental shelf will be started; a general trading company imports crude oil; and automaking measures to protect the automobile industry will soon be adopted; and a certain unprofitable company will be absorbed up by a certain jaebol enterprise. These rumors suggest that there is no specific measure to activate the economy cooling off. Even if these rumors were true, they can not become good factors to revive the economy.

(Continued from page 1)

Chon Du Hwan and other generals; (3) establishment of a democratic government; and (4) a stop to military and economic aid to the Chon Du Hwan regime.

World Federalists, gathered at their 18th World Congress of World Federalists Movement July 25-29, 1980, held in Tokyo, discussed the south Korean situation and denounced the denial of democracy, demanding the release of Kim Dae Jung. They issued a joint statement July 29 (See full text on page 8).

Australian delegate Andrew Hughes declared: "May I say that we, as world citizens, share that the matter is solely a south Korean matter. It is our responsibility. And I appeal to this Congress to take up this question(Kim Dae Jung) as an urgent matter, pass a resolution and get the full support of all members of the Association of World Federalists and move heaven and earth to save this courageous fighter for democratic rights who faces certain death in the hands of the south Korean military dictatorship. Only massive public opinion and protests can save Kim's life. It is a call to all humanists everywhere, and at once."

Catholic Bishop Chi Hak Sun

"Direction of Opposition Movement for Democracy"

(2)

(Continued from the previous issue)

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to touch upon mutual relationships between social tolerance and democratization. This is related to words "peaceful power change." If justice, love and truth are not encompassed within the framework of social tolerance and democratization, or "peaceful power change," the people will be fooled again. Even if public hearings are held on a Constitution, they will end in empty talk.

The people is tolerant enough. When the government fools the tolerant people imprudently, what will be the result? I can not but worry about it. I believe the words "peaceful power change" can be used when a government change takes place, with the people taking responsibility for politics, under a Constitution based on the free will of the people, and not under one imposed on them. As I am not politician, I don't know politics well. But, I believe when the machinery of domination is formed according to the will of the ruling classes and is imposed on their people by them, such a system is on a different level of politics. I think there are two kinds of people who are loved by the people in the course of democratization. The people will pay tributeto those who hold themselves responsible for their past acts and discipline themselves.

The people will praise those true democratic fighters who have fought for a long time, regarding the pain of the people as their own, sacrificing their own interests for the sake of social justice, and paying no heed to wealth or fame.

In case democratization struggles are aimed at promoting the interests of individuals or groups, the people will be disappointed at such individuals or groups.

Democracy means that all people should be masters of their country. If the ruling circles misunderstand this point, another serious obstacle will be placed in the way of the democratic development. Now is the time not for a hero or a great mind but for those who stand on the side of the people and make their utmost with the people. Now is the time for a social system serving the people to be created for the people.

I think of the March 1 movement and the April 19 revolution as historic events which asserted the cause of national independence externally and proved the Korean people to be an independent nation internally at the cost of their blood.

Inheriting this spirit, we have defended the following with our bloody struggles and efforts: the continued democratization struggles of the students; "the National Council for Defence of Democracy" organized in 1971 in the course of struggles against the "presidential election" of Pak Jung Hi for the "third term" and a constitutional amendment; "the National Union for Democracy" organized in 1974; and the "National Union for Democracy and Unification".

During the past 10 years I have thought that only when democracy is concretely implemented throughout the corners of the country, the security of south Korea will be consolidated, its international prestige enhanced and the fundamental forces for the reunification of the country will be forged. With this faith, I have strived hard and done all my efforts as one member of the "National Union for Democracy and Unification."

Sometimes I thought I was not doing my best. Whenever I thought of that, I recalled the sufferings of our patriots of old and many present detainees and felt deeply ashamed at myself.

I sincerely hope that the "National Union for Democracy and Unification" will be widely supported by the people.

In order that the "national union," working for democracy and reunification, may become part and parcel of all the people, at least the following three points should be strictly observed.

Firstly, the union should accept as a member anyone who wishes for democracy.

(Secondly,...DELETED by the censor)

Thirdly, whoever wishes to participate and work in the regime should be members of the "national union." Even if a personage who has worked for the restoration of democracy, should follow this rule.

The "national union" is duty bound to maintain the above-mentioned three principles in order to play the role of a bastion for the country's democratization. This is for the purpose of the "national union" to fulfil its function of demanding democratization, whoever may come into power.

The third point is important, in order that the government may not be used by any individuals or groups as an instrument for satisfying their interests.

I believe the people will love those who advocate the true cause of the people at this very moment, regardless of their efforts for or cooperation with the democratization under the old system. **(from the June issue of the south Korean monthly journal "Wolgan Chungang") (Concluded)**

Korean Paintings "Snow-Covered Paekam Ridge"

By Yun Tae Ryong

Do You Know? National Acrobatic Ropedancing

Ropedancing is a Korean traditional national play. The "History of Koryo" compiled in 1451 recorded that ropedancers were like a flying swallow.

Generally ropedancer uses a tightrope to perform various feats high in the air. But the Korean acrobats use a tightrope connected with elastic rubber rope at both ends so that the whole rope can go up and down and swings right and left under their weight.

Ropedancer performs various acrobatic feats on the rope, springing up and down by use of the resilience of the rubber rope.

The first half of the acrobatic "ropedancing" consists of some of traditional acrobatic feats modified along modern lines—sitting and rising, sitting on ankle, sitting on knee, advance and turnabout in sitting posture, etc. All these feats are mainly those of legs and move spectators to admiration. Its second half consists mainly of modernized swinging feats—forward somersault, backward somersault, turnabout, circular turning, two forward somersaults, two backward somersaults, successive two backward somersaults, successive three backward somersaults, etc.

Somersault is a main form of gymnastic acrobatics showing fighting spirit and bravery of player in a concentrated way, and a typical acrobatic feat. The second half is a repetition of somersaults and ropedancing culminates in successive two and three backward somersaults.

SHORT STORY

The Island in Flames (2)

By Hwang Gon

(Continued from the previous issue)

Around eleven in the morning of September 13, the enemy stopped the bombing and shelling which they had been at since the 10th. Now the enemy were coming in. They were going to try to put their men on the island.

Our men covered in dust were busy carrying shells and firing guns. The whole sea was bristling with white pillars.

But the enemy were moving in with landing boats in the van and crusers and destroyers covering them. Altogether some 300 enemy ships!

An armada on the rough sea and whizzing shells all around—the scene was not without awe to the signal girls.

There came signals of two or three direct hits. But they could not see clearly the ships going down. Their hatred for the enemy knew no bounds.

It was around noon. At last an enemy destroyer began to emit black smoke. Before long, it seemed, the whole sea was enveloped in blacksmoke. Yet, the girls could see the enemy ship turn tails and start to flee.

Our men were elated at the sight. About ten minutes later, two more enemy ships—again destroyers—fled trailing smoke. Tears were in our men's eyes. Someone said: "You, bastards. That's what you'll get!"

Li Tae Hun, company commander, in an excited voice, shouted to make himself heard in the turmoil. "Myong Hi, send in a report."

But their spirits were soon dampened. The enemy stopped moving-in, but resumed shelling. Then in a flash the sky over the island was again filled with enemy planes.

The battle lasted until four o'clock in the afternoon with no sign of letting-up. Many of the enemy ships limping and emitting black smoke fled for high seas.

By nightfall there was a commendatory message to our men from the commanding officer on the front. Words can not describe the joy our men felt!

The blood-shot eyes of Li Tae Hun were on Myong Hi, but no words came. He just stood there blinking in an awkward manner.

Myong Hi had another look at Tae Hun and his men.

How precious they are, everyone of them, she thought. Their faces were smeared with sweat and dust, their undershirts and their trousers were in rags. Many were bleeding. But how wonderful they were. Even death lost its terrors when she was with them.

But the enemy did considerable damage to our people in the day's battle. Many were wounded and killed. And two guns were completely put out of commission.

At early dawn a carload of ammunition arrived. They learned that there had been two trucks, but the enemy got one of them on the way. No one was sure if the truck would make a safe return trip.

The enemy's firing started at 07:00 hours on the 14th. Around one in the afternoon the enemy began another landing attempt.

Our men, who had sunk or damaged thirteen enemy ships the day before, sent six more to the bottom of the sea. They foiled the enemy's second attempt to land.

But there was only one gun left for our men, ammunition was getting short, too, and there were only a few men now. Yet, Li Tae Hun was calm as always. He praised his men for their gallant fight of the past two days though the enemy so greatly outnumbered them; they had allowed not a single enemy to land. He reminded them of all the damage they had caused to the enemy. He was confident as ever.

There were only a few men left, but their morale was high like the company commander, and every one knew what he should do.

Myong Hi's fingers were on her wireless keys.

"Eight men at present. One gun. Hurry with ammunition."

She repeated the same message three times until late evening. An answer came.

"Your position important. Be brave. Delay enemy landing even one hour, one minute. Ammunition on the way."

At dawn, Myong Hi received another message from headquarters. It was an order. "All wireless operators return immediately."

Myong Hi knew she must relay the order to the two girls with whom she came. But she pondered over what she herself should do. She just could not bear the thought of "quitting" in the middle of the battle and bidding goodbye to her fighting friends. Saying goodbye—even the mere thought of it broke her heart. Particularly, with Tae Hun. To her, it seemed he was burning inside and outside with hatred for the enemy. His image was ever before her eyes.

She felt so close to him.

She knew what headquarters wanted. In the light of the urgency of the situation it wanted to save as many lives as possible.

But she said to herself: So long as they fight at the risk of their lives, I should remain with them. This is what I must do. Of course, she had been thinking this way for sometime, but she only renewed her resolve.

Perhaps, in her life, there had never been a moment so urgent and important as this—perhaps there never will be another either—but this was the moment, she knew, for the biggest decision. The moment might become the one of regret for the rest of her life, her life unworthy.

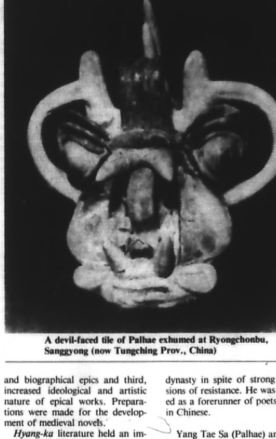
Reports will have to be made on the movement of the enemy; the company must contact headquarters, reinforcement must come to them; I should not desert them. More than that. The story of the fighting coastal battery company members has to be told to the people. She kept pondering. She was sure. At this crucial moment, the fighting men on the island made a grim resolution to fight to the death, and all those who were in the rear—the headquarters and others—followed the battle on the island with breathless suspense.

(To be continued)

Korean Cultural History

Literature, Music, Dance of Silla (23)

Bird-Shaped Ridge-End, Devil-Faced Tiles of Palhae



A devil-faced tile of Palhae exhumed at Ryongchonbu, Sanggyong (now Tungching Prov., China)

(Continued from the previous issue)

Among decorative tiles of Palhae there are ridge-end, devil-faced and other tiles.

Ridge-end tiles are big tiles placed at both ends of a roof ridge. Palhae is known for its ridge-end tiles. But only two of them have been exhumed and completely restored to their original state. One was unearthed at the site of the first temple in the outer walls of Ryongchonbu in Sanggyong (now Tungching Prov., China), and other at the site of the ninth temple outside the walls. These tiles are glazed and hollow. The former is glazed in light green and measures 97 cm long, 87 cm high and 39 cm wide. Both wings of it have 16 feathers each and beneath them, that is, between the wings and the body there are at a certain interval five holes in which a flower-shaped head is fitted. This decorative head is bulged in the middle and around there are 8-10 small beads embossed like tiny flower petals. And curled-up flower petal patterns are attached to both sides of the body. It has a projecting beak.

The ridge-end tile unearthed from the ninth temple is glazed in deepgreen. It is 91 cm long, 91.5 cm high and 36 cm wide. Both wings have 17 feathers each. Seven carved flowers are set in the holes between the wings and the body. Each flower has 16 round petals with a roundish protuberant stamen in the centre. The beak protrudes from between both wings. Scores of small holes are made in line on the back of the body.

The above-two ridge-end tiles are similar, though a little different in shape. Each has well-shaped unfurled wings and a beak projecting from between them. Both wings have many feathers, and flower patterns are put in the holes made between the body and the wings.

In short, the ridge-end tile looks like a ferocious bird on the point of flying up with its wings unfurled. It is very conceptual in form, but its beak and wings are expressive of its ferocious features.

The big ridge-end tile made with high technique matchs the gorgeous, imposing look of the Palhae buildings for which these tiles were used.

Devil-faced tiles were used in Palhae to adorn the protruding corners of eaves. They are shaped like the head of a hideous creature. It is 33-34 cm long, 31-37 cm wide and 23-27 cm high. The building, glaring eyes, hammer-like projecting nose, huge gaping mouth with sharp teeth, a long tongue that is lolled out, ears curled like big rings, horn-like manes—these are the typical features of the devil-faced tile of Palhae which gives a vivid expression to the spirit and character of the strong-willed people.

The front part of the devil-faced tile is glazed in green or purple, the eyes in flesh tint, the eyeballs in dark purple or green-brown, the teeth in light yellowwhite, and the lips in light green, to make it look more ferocious.

Literature, Music

New distinguishing features of epic literature in this period are first, artistic refinement of epics, second, development of fable-like and biographical epics and third, increased ideological and artistic nature of epical works. Preparations were made for the development of medieval novels.

Hyang-ka literature held an important position in the development of Korean poetry and ballads. *Hyang-ka*, a special poetic form of Silla, is a ballad recorded in *"Hyangchal-pob"*, an original method of writing. Chinese characters are used phonetically to express the sound values of the Korean language.

In this period many *Hyang-ka* writers appeared. According to the *Samguk-yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), and an anthology called *"Samdaemok"* was published by Wihong and Taegu Hwasang in 888 according to the instruction of Queen Chinsong, but its original is not extant today. Only 25 *Hyang-ka* pieces—14 poems in the text of the *Samguk-yusu* and 11 poems in *"Kyunyo-jon"* written by Kyunyo, a monk—are extant. Portrayed in the 14 poems contained in the *Samguk-yusu* were the lives and feelings of farmers and people of various strata, and the poems in *"Kyunyo-jon"* stress Buddhist ideas.

Among the notable poems are *"Honhwa-ka"* which express the gentle and pure feelings of farmers; *"Mochukchirang-ka"* which sings of the lives of youths in the *Hwarang* (training institution organized by Silla youths) and *"Anmin-ka"*, which expresses views on society and politics.

Fables and poetry in Chinese also developed. Among the notable poets is Choe Chi Won. He was born into the family of a minor aristocrat. He went to China under the Tang dynasty to study and passed the *Kwago* examination (an examination for a high-ranking government post). After living there for 16 years, he returned to Korea at the age of 28 and held a public office. When he was in the 40s, he began to live as a wanderer, abandaning his public office. Afterwards, he devoted himself to writing.

Among his works is *"Chiwonpilgyong"* (20 volumes), the oldest extant anthology of Korean poetry. His works were appraised in those days and in the period of the Li dynasty in spite of strong expressions of resistance. He was esteemed as a forerunner of poets writing in Chinese.

Yang Tae Sa (Palhae) and Solyo (Silla, female) were also famous poet and poetess.

Music also flourished and a large number of songs were composed. *Hyang-ka* music was popular among the people and a new form of dances was created. Burlesque plays were also written.

Hyang-ka music developed from lyric songs based on folk songs which were popular with the people.

Hyang-ka music was sung in varied melodies such as a folk song melody, a ballad melody and a recitation style.

According to a variety of new music composed, diverse musical instruments were made. The following are basic musical instruments in this period: *Kayagum, Komungo* (six-stringed instrument), mandolines and three kinds of *Chottae* (flute).

The *Samguk-sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) says that 185 pieces of music were composed for *Kayagum.*

Chottae (flute) was popular among the Silla people. Legend says that there was a flute called *"Manpasikchok"* which had been kept since 682 as a national treasure of Silla.

Many musicians appeared in the period. Okpogo was one of the notable musicians of Silla. He is a master player of *Komungo* and a composer in the 8th century. He is said to have composed 30 pieces of music during his 50-year long study of *Komungo* music in the Unsangin Temple on Mt. Chiri, South Kyongsang Province.

The representative dance of the period was *Chonje* which was danced on feastive occasions in the palace. The dance and song were performed by professional female singers and dancers. In addition, there was a sword dance performed by male dancers. On the other hand, there were many travelling dancers who were loved by the people. Choe Chi Won, Confucianist in the closing days of the Silla period, touches upon dances in his poems.

(To be continued)

NEWS DISPATCH FROM PYONGYANG

June 17

- A delegation of the General Union of Iraqi Agricultural Cooperatives headed by Ahmad Hamad Al-Dori, functionary of the Department of Peasants of the Iraqi Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist Baath Party, arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
- Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, met the government delegation of the DPRK headed by Vice-President Pak Sung Chul on a visit to his country. Referring to the question of Korean reunification, the president expressed full support to the stand of the DPRK government for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and to the struggle of the Korean people for its realisation.

June 20

- Siaka Probyn Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, met Kim Byong Gi, DPRK ambassador to his country. The president expressed satisfaction over the favourable development of the friendly and cooperative relations between Sierra Leone and Korea.

June 21

- A delegation of the Trade Union of Commercial Workers of Korea headed by Li Byong Chan left Pyongyang by train to attend the Sixth Congress of the Trade Unions International of Workers in Commerce to be held in Hungary.

June 22

- Ji Pengfei, Vice-Premier of the State Council of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the CC of the Communist Party of China, met the delegation of the North Hamgyong Provincial Committee of the WPK headed by Chang Bong Il in Beijing.

June 24

- A party workers' delegation of the WPK headed by Kim Hyong Bong left Pyongyang for a visit to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

June 25

- An economic delegation of the DPRK headed by Chon Il Chun left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to Malaysia.
- Mauritius Prime Minister Seewoosagur Ramgoolam met the government delegation of the DPRK headed by Li Song Hui.

June 27

- A Chinese radio and TV broadcasting delegation headed by Zhang Xi-angshan, Director of the Chinese Central Broadcasting Administration, arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
- A delegation of the Ashikaga Bank, Ltd, Japan, headed by its Chairman Fujimatsu Masanori arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
- A 1980-81 plan for cultural cooperation was signed between the governments of the DPRK and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.

June 30

- A delegation of the "Society of Independence" of Japan headed by its permanent executive Araki Toyohide arrived in Pyongyang by train.
- A delegation of the APN News Agency of the Soviet Union headed by its Chief Editor Y. N. Zhdanow arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
- A delegation of the Congolese Workers' Party headed by Fougnui Alphonse, Member of the CC of the Congolese Workers' Party and Political Commisar of Bouenza Region, arrived in Pyongyang by plane.
- Hussein the First, King of Jordan, met Li Sok Ryong, ambassador of the DPRK to Jordan. The king expressed satisfaction with the favorable development of friendly relations between Jordan and Korea. **(KCNA)**

SHORT NEWS FROM SEOUL

July 1

- Edward Meyer, U.S. army chief of general staff, conferred with "president" Choi Gyu Ha. Meyer said that he would strengthen relationships with south Korea through joint military exercises, stressing that the U.S. would observe security commitment to south Korea.
- A spokesman of the "national assembly" announced that Min Gwan Sick, a proxy of speaker of "national assembly" received applications for resignation from nine "national assembly" members, including Kim Jong Pil.

July 5

- South Korean "president" Choi Gyu Ha received resignation letter from Chon Gil Sok, "minister" of south Korean commerce and industry and appointed Sin Byong Hyon, president of south Korea bank as his successor.
- Tongmyong timber company officially announced its bankruptcy. It has been closing for a long time since May 8 and unilaterally announced dismissal of 3,088 employees.

July 8

- Acting "prime minister" Pak Choong Hun visited Japan to attend the funeral service of the late prime minister of Japan, and conferred with Ito, acting prime minister of Japan.
- According to an announcement by the south Korea trade promotion corporation, south Korea's trade deficit with Japan rose from 5,750,000,000 dollars in 1972 to 32,930,000,000 dollars in 1979, or about 5.7 times in 7 years.

July 9

- The counter measure committee for national security announced that it had ended the investigation of political corruption and dismissed 232 high ranking "government" officers.

July 10

- The south Korean authorities agreed to induct borrowings from the U.S. Import and Export Bank for the purpose of installing an electronic exchange. They signed a treaty in Washington for inducting the borrowings of 170,000,000 dollars out of the total 3,440,000,000 dollars of the first phase of the project.

July 12

- According to statistics released by the economic planning board of south Korea, the real wage of south Korean workers decreased 4.2 percent in the first half of this year from the same period of last year due to price raises from the beginning of this year.

July 14

- South Korean "foreign minister" Pak Tong Jin conferred with Gleysteen, U.S. ambassador and discussed mutual concern over the U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz's visit to Pyongyang.

July 16

- "President" Choi Gyu Ha promoted Hwang Yong Shi, deputy army chief of general staff to the rank of general. Chu Yong Bok, "defence minister", Ri Hui Song, army chief of staff were present.
- John Wickham, commander of the south Korea-U.S. combined forces command returned to the U. S. temporarily for consultations.

Coup de Grace Given to Freedom Of Press As 172 Periodicals Banned from Publication

Coup de grace has been dealt at the survivals of freedom of the press when the junta led by Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan July 31 cancelled the licenses of publication of a total of 172 periodicals. The ban affected some 12 percent of a total of 1,434 periodicals thus far published except for dailies and news services.

Clearly the aim of the move is to root out all potential sources of public outcries against the court-martialling of Kim Dae Jung and other democratic dissidents, the plan to adopt a second "Yusin Constitution" through a rubber-stamp plebiscite under martial law and the bid of the strongman Chon Du Hwan to become a new "President" through an indirect election.

The banned 172 periodicals comprised 15 weeklies, 104 monthlies, 13 bimonthlies, 16 quarterlies and 14 annuals, with 120 for sale and 52 not for sale. Among them were eleven campus English-language monthlies—for example, the Hanyang Times, the Inha Herald, the Sejong Herald and Kukmin Times Herald.

A random sampling of those banned includes:

— the Weekly Kukje (International News) by the Kukje Sinmun

— the Weekly Pusan by the Pusan Ilbo

— Nongrim Sinmun (Agricultural and Forestry, a weekly)

— Sichonggwak Kyoik Sinmun (Visual-Audio Education, a weekly)

— Wolgan Chung-Angja (a prestigious monthly) by the Chung-Ang Ilbo

— Sisl-wui Sori (the Voice of the People, a monthly) by the Rev. Ham Sok Hon

— the News Star (a monthly)

— the News Report (a monthly)

— Asia Times (a monthly)

— Korea Life (a monthly)

— Wolgan Yongo (Monthly English)

— Trade Korea News (a monthly)

— the Monthly Economist

— Industrial Korea (a monthly)

— Photo Sisa (a monthly)

— Changjo-wa Pipyong (Creation and Criticism, a quarterly)

— Yusin Jongwu (Political Friends of "Yusin," quarterly) by Yujonghwoe, the group of "President"-named lawmakers

— World Taekwondo (a quarterly) by the World Federation of Taekwondo

— KBS Information (a bimonthly) by the Korea Broadcasting System

— Jonja Konghak (Electronics, a bi-monthly)

— a bimonthly organ of the Wireless Operators Association

The ban is a follow-up of the current campaign to purify the society as launched by the Chon Du Hwan junta. The point is: nobody shall listen, see, speak and write; namely, be a fool!

Look at the earlier developments: the July 24 arrests of five south Korean reporters working for foreign news media—The New York Times, Le Monde, the Far Eastern Economic Review, the Asahi Shimbun, NHK, AP and Reuter; the July 4 closure of Seoul bureaus of Japanese newspapers and news services—the Asahi Shimbun, Kyodo News Service, the Jiji Press and the Sankei Shimbun; and the July 3 order by the Pusan City Government to have an estimated 1,000 homes remove TV antennas which can monitor TV programs from Japan.

As of August 1, several thousand journalists resigned from their posts under heavy pressure from the junta, Reuter quoted Seoul newspaper sources as saying that day. A total of 143 reporters were dismissed from the state-run Korea Broadcasting System, the Choson Ilbo and others. August 1, another 30 were told to stay at home, including the managing editor of the Chung-Ang Ilbo.

A photo reprinted from The Korea Times, August 1, shows a heap of 172 magazines banned from publication by the martial law command led by Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan.

The same day, a total of 611 teachers and educators were fired by the Ministry of Education, bringing to 8,634 the total number of those public employees dismissed since July when the so-called purification drive was started. The number breaks down into the following: state employees—4,992; employees of public-run banks and corporations—1,819; those working for agricultural and fisheries cooperatives—1,212.

It should be revealed that public employees fired thus were given considerable amounts of dismissal allowances.

World Federalists on Democracy in S. Korea

We participants in the 18th World Federalists' Movement (July 25-29, 1980) solemnly draw the peoples of the world's attention to the inhuman acts committed by the Chon Too Hwan regime in Kwangjuin South Korea in May of this year.

As is known, Chon Too Hwan forcibly seized power upon the assassination of Park Chung Hee, and the violent suppression of the people's movement in Kwangju testifies to the fact that he is no less oppressive than his predecessor.

We participants therefore appeal to all socially-conscious persons throughout the world to use whatever influence they can bring to help reconsider the current situation in South Korea.

Precisely because the Korean people have suffered from lots of hardships owing to national disintegration since 1945, we feel that the time has now come for them, too, to enjoy a bright new dawn which must include the privilege of democracy and reunification.

To this end we demand:

1. Immediate abolition of martial law.
2. Total amnesty for all political prisoners including Kim Dae Jung and those who were arrested in the Kwangju Uprising.
3. Restoration of democracy, including the rights to free speech and assembly.

1. Mr. Jos Lemmers Netherlands Chairman, Executive Committee of the World Association of World Federalists (WAWF)
2. Mr. Knud Nielsen Denmark WAWF Vice President for Int'l Cooperation & Detente
3. Mr. Homer Jack USA Secretary General, World Conference for Religion & Peace
4. Mr. James A. Joyce United Kingdom (WAWF U.N. Representative in European Headquarters)
5. Mr. A.K. Banerji India Prof. Calcutta University
6. Mr. J. Parekh India Prof. Bombay University
7. Dr. Satish Kumar India Prof. Jawaharlal Nehru Univ.
8. Dr. L. Abott USA Prof. Union College

Others 35

KOREA FOCUS

Kim Trial New Ammunition for Anti-American Backlashes

The court-martialling of Kim Dae Jung, a symbol of the democratic dissident movement in south Korea is near. No official announcement of explanation of the charges against him is available except those reported by newspapers. His wife is now under house arrest, not allowed to have contact with him. She said that she had learned the arrest of her husband from newspapers, not from the martial law authorities. Since his arrest, whereabouts of the democratic dissident leader is not known. Nobody has met him. No defense counsel has been picked up on his behalf. The reported charges under the "National Security Law" carry a maximum penalty of death. All indications are that the Chon Du Hwan junta is making last-ditch efforts to execute Kim Dae Jung physically and politically.

Kim had been constantly subjected to attempts on his life while Pak Jung Hi was in power. At the time of the 1971 "presidential campaign," he narrowly escaped an assassination attempt in the form of a traffic accident. In August, 1973, he was kidnapped from Tokyo to Seoul. On his way to Seoul aboard a clandestine abduction ship, he was close to being dumped into waters with a weight attached. Even after his abduction to Seoul, he survived repeated death attempts in prison. Is now time for him to die a martyr's death after all?

Democracy and human rights are the common good of humanity. They are the assets of the whole mankind for which numerous people have died for thousands of years. Today, international friendship and good neighborhood are based on democracy and human rights. Therefore, the United Nations which adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has imposed sanctions against those countries with worse human rights records. South Korea is emerging a graveyard of democracy and human rights. The military government of Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan has of late launched what it termed a "social purification campaign," expelling from political circles, bureaucracy, banking circles, the press and educational institutes thousands of people on charges of corruption and irregularities. Many were critics of the junta and those reluctant to support it. These acts of violence, culminating in the court-martialling of Kim Dae Jung, represent a grave challenge to the world community's commitment to justice, liberty and democracy.

The drive to save Kim Dae Jung and 23 others considered to be his advisers is far from a matter of domestic concern to south Korea. As a last battle to defend democracy in south Korea, it is undoubtedly a matter of worldwide concern.

Given these facts, a serious doubt is cast on the attitude of the Japanese and American governments concerning the Kim Dae Jung case. The United States is in a position to wield any degree of influence on the events in south Korea as it is a virtual ruler in Seoul. By the use of its operation control over the south Korean armed forces, the United States gives firm support to the regime of Lt. Gen. Chon Du Hwan, evidence of U.S. responsibility for the persecution of Kim Dae Jung. Although the State Department called charges against Kim "far-fetched," it has done nothing specific to help him win release from prison. Senator Edward Kennedy, scores of Congressmen and scholars either issued a statement or sent letters to President Carter to take effective steps like freezing aid to Seoul.

The Japanese Government issued a statement, showing "deep concern" over the fate of Kim Dae Jung but its envoy to Seoul Sunobe advised his Government to "inspire the government in Seoul in long-term viewpoints." He predicted that "the military government will last long in Korea." The most worrisome issue facing the Chon regime is an economic debacle. Paying lip service to criticism of the military regime in Seoul, both the American and the Japanese governments have sent high-powered economic assistance delegations to Seoul.

This is in striking contrast with the steps taken by the West German Government. When a south Korean musician Yun I Sang was kidnapped from West Germany to south Korea, the Bonn Government threatened to cut off economic assistance to Seoul and managed to win his release and return to West Germany. The Scandinavian countries, West German and French foreign ministers and others protested the indictment of Kim Dae Jung. Bonn and Paris called upon EC countries to intervene with the military regime in Seoul to save him. If both Tokyo and Washington were really concerned about the fate of Kim Dae Jung, they should seek for effective steps.

The United States seems to be subjecting all things to anti-Russian considerations. Historically speaking, the Korean policy of Washington has been part of the anti-Russian, anti-Chinese policy conduct. South Korea today is a military base aimed at the Soviet Union. The Carter Administration, advocating human rights diplomacy, sent letters to dissidents in the USSR but did not send any message to those in south Korea.

As Carter put it, Washington is not viewing the human rights issue in south Korea from the same level as in the United States. It is a traditional practice for Washington to support any anti-human rights government in Seoul as long as it is committed to the use of south Korea as an anti-Russian base. Consequently, it is alright to support the junta of Chon Du Hwan.

Such policy will not work well long. The anti-American sentiments are now bubbling. South Korea is becoming a candidate for another Iran. The way of American handling of the Kim Dae Jung issue will likely sharpen those sentiments.

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